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fostering the spirit which inspired its creation will become more and more apparent. This viewpoint should be pressed, for the success of the League of Nations will depend on a world outlook which can only be achieved through a systematic and conscious education of the peoples.

Following are some of the endorsements of the cause:

1. Meeting of Delegates of Allied Associations for a Society of Nations, held at Paris, January 25 to 30, 1919, under the presidency of Mr. Leon Bourgeois.

"That this meeting agrees that an International Commission of Education should be an active organ in a League of Free Nations. Education is the principal means by which a responsible world democracy may be evolved and a League of Nations maintained.

"The International Commission on Education should be entrusted to draw up a plan by which education will promote the fundamental needs of democracy. This plan, therefore, should provide for a widespread education in the elements of democratic citizenship and the extension of the privilege of education to all peoples and classes."

 Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association, Chicago, U. S. A., February 22 to 28 1919.

"Since education is the principal means by which a responsible world democracy can be evolved and a League of Nations maintained, be it resolved that the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association strongly endorses and gladly accepts the resolutions adopted by the National Council of the League of Nations now in session in Paris and sent to it at Chicago by cable. This Department urges the creation of an International Commission on Education that shall be an active organ in a League of Free Nations, whose duties should be to provide for a world education in the elements of democratic citizenship and the extension 'of the privilege of education to all people and to all classes.'"

3. The Workers' Educational Association (a Federation of Over 2,500 Educational and Work - peoples' Organizations), April 5, 1919.

"While welcoming a League of Nations as a means of providing legitimate channels for the expression of national sentiments and aspirations and lessening the possibilities of armed conflicts between nations, we recognize that such a League can be little more than a barrier to intermittent outbreaks of national feeling, which can only be permanently allayed by the democracies of the world cultivating a 'world mind.'

"Such an attitude of mind, however, can only be cultivated by education that aims at enlightening the peoples of the world as to the facts of the world they live in, more especially the social and the economic facts that periodically divide the human family into warring communities, widens the human outlook, broadens and deepens human sympathies, and enables the democracies of the world to realize their interdependence on each other for their future prosperity and security.

"On behalf of the Workers' Educational Association, which represents 2,709 educational, working-class, and other organizations in Great Britain and Ireland, we therefore

urge that the League of Nations Commission set up an International Commission of Education, for we regard such a commission as essential to the successful and effective working of a democratic League of Peoples."

# RESOLUTIONS OF THE EIGHTH GERMAN PEACE CONGRESS

HELD IN BERLIN JUNE 13-15, 1919

#### 1. THE TREATY OF PEACE

(Proposal of Mr. Gumbel and Others.)

The peace proposal of Versailles being a violation of the Fourteen Points of the Wilson program, as it is also of the rights of peoples to dispose freely of themselves, and imposing, moreover, conditions on the German people which they will not be able to fulfill, the Assembly protests against these conditions, without, however, disregarding the grave responsibility which rests upon Germany for the devastations of the war."

#### 2-4. RESPONSIBILITIES

"The Assembly recognizes in principle that Germany is guilty of having brought on the war." (Submitted by Dr. Francke.)

"The Eighth Congress of German Pacifists recognizes that the defeated Imperial Government is charged with a heavy responsibility for having supported without qualifications the political ambitions of Austria-Hungary toward Serbia. In associating itself with this policy it has made itself directly an accomplice in the bringing on of the catastrophe. But the Congress recalls at the same time that the great majority of the German people, like other peoples, did not desire the war; they have been forced by those who were mistaken as to the causes of the conflict. It recalls, furthermore, that the atmosphere of international mistrust created by imperialistic politics of all the governments has been the indirect cause of the conflict, paralyzing the forces of resistance which should have been allowed to play. The Congress regrets more than it can express that these things have made of Germany during the whole course of hostilities a land of hate by which the mentality of the German people has been systematically poisoned, and, by exalting the cult of force, has contributed to prolong the war." (Proposed by Messrs. Quidde and Mannheimer.)

"The Congress recognizes that the facts which have determined the catastrophe are attributable to the concerted action of the former German Government and of the former Government of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy." (Proposed by Professor Thesing.)

## 5. RESUMPTION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

"The Eighth Congress of German Pacifists considers that it is absolutely necessary that the pacifists of all countries should get together again as soon as possible. It ardently desires to remove the obstacles in the way of re-establishing those relations, especially on the side

(Proposed by Professor of the French pacifists." Quidde.)

## 6. CRUELTIES

"Referring to a publication of Professor Förster entitled Zur Beurteilung der deutschen Kriegsführing, the Eighth Congress of German Pacifists profoundly regrets all the unnecessary cruel measures which have been taken by the former command of the German army, cruelties which constitute a defiance to human dignity. It demands that the recent publications relative to these cruelties should be completed and that the investigations should be carried to the very end, and also that the results of the inquiry should receive the greatest publicity. It is persuaded that the German people, should they ignore these cruelties, at least in the great majority of cases, will subject themselves to general detestation." (Proposed by Dr. Mennicke and Dr. Neufville.)

## 7-9. AGAINST THE EMPLOYMENT OF VIOLENCE WITHIN A COUNTRY AND AGAINST PUNISHMENT BY DEATH

"Four years of war have proved that in modern life the appeal to arms presents no solution of economic and political conflicts, and that employment of brute force makes, on the contrary, only for hatred. War brings in its wake immense and irreparable losses not only in human life, but in intellectual and moral values. This declaration applies as much to the phenomena of national life as to those of international life. We hold that men should have recourse to the ways of the pacifists in internal conflicts as well as in the case of conflicts between States. We demand that the Red Guards and the White Guards should be demobilized. Soldiers have nothing to do with the regulation of political questions. Their task is especially to maintain order and peace within. The Government and the terrorists, those of the Right as well as those of the Left, ought to be restrained by the force of public opinion to serve pacific ends. Down with the régime of force! We do not wish to bring about our destruction through civil war. demand that the terrorists be brought to book." posed by Bund Neues Vaterland.)

"The Eighth Congress of German Pacifists deplores that since the revolution the principles of pacifism con-secrating the inviolability of human life have not been observed in the group struggles within the nation. of great value, indeed hundreds of brave people, have been the victims of violence. It demands that militarism in the interior of the country should be abolished, and that punishment by death should be revoked. It demands in particular that there should be no execution of the decree against the pacifist Toller. It demands that all the punishments pronounced by the war tribunal should be rescinded. It demands finally that the Government and the terrorists, those of the Right and those of the Left, should be forced by public opinion to proceed according to the methods of negotiation." mitted by Perlen, Stöcker et Société "La Patrie Nouvelle.")

"The German Peace Society demands of the National Assembly the abolition of punishment by death." (Proposal submitted by the societies of Munich, Hambourg-Altona, Leipzig.)

## 10. COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE

"The German Peace Society demands of the National Assembly that in cases where it introduces compulsory military service there should be provided in the constitution an exception in favor of those who plead conscientious scruples." (Proposed by a Group from Munich.)

## 11. FREE EXCHANGE

"The Eighth German Peace Congress sees in the abandonment of the protectionist policy practiced heretofore by Germany and in the introduction of free exchange the surest means of bringing about a rapprochement of peoples and the safeguarding of peace. Guided by that conviction, it expresses the wish that the new Germany abolish the policy of protectionism which serves only the interests of certain reactionary groups." (Proposed by Dr. Butzke.)

## 12-13. REFORMS IN EDUCATION

"The Eighth German Peace Congress demands of all departments of instruction of the different States of the Empire that there should be established in the courses of study a place for instruction in pacifism." (Proposed) by Wachtel, Gotha.)

"The Eighth German Congress of Pacifists presents to the departments of public instruction of the different States a request that the courses of study should undergo a revision, having in view the elimination of bellicose suggestions and the introduction in their place of a spirit of conciliation as regards foreign peoples." posed by Achilles, Leipzig.)

## 14. ATTITUDE OF GERMAN PACIFISM

"The Eighth German Peace Congress, acting upon the report which has been addressed to it by the German Peace Society and by the Central Office for the study of the rights of peoples, thanks these two organizations for their work and for their devotion. It keenly regrets above all that a great number of German pacifists have not known how to escape completely the suggestions of the spirit of war, and it hopes in the future the activity of German pacifists will not allow them to be influenced by the events, but will obey implicitly the principles of genuine pacifism." (Proposed by Dr. Metzger Graz.)

In addition to these interesting resolutions it is now reported that a number of the ninety-three German "Intellectuals" who signed the famous manifesto in 1914 absolving Germany from guilt have repudiated the document on one ground or another. A number signed without having read the text. Liebermann pleads that his information coming from the German government misled him, but the charges against his country of vandalism and barbarity he believed vicious and unjust, so he signed. The same is substantially true of Brentano, Reinhardt, Weingartner, and probably others. gartner is reported to place the blame for the war upon German conscription and to find hope for the new and better Germany in the "culture" of America.—Editors.